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NOTES
ON THE
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF BURMA
(I)

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THE *Punnovāda-sutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* is found, almost word for word, in the Sanskrit version of the celebrated Legend of Pūrṇa, as translated by Burnouf from the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ The Pāli Sutta does not give us any further information concerning this interlocutor of the Buddha ; but the commentaries or *Atthakathā* give, as a rule, the history of the persons mentioned in the texts.² Consequently, while looking over the voluminous commentary on the *Saṅḅhūyutta*, I have found therein the Legend of Pūrṇa (Sanskrit Pūrṇa) such as it is known to the Southern School of Buddhism, or, at least, that part of the legend which the commentators have thought fit to insert in their work : for if the *sutta* itself seems to be but an extract (unless one prefers to see in it the nucleus round which the legend later on developed itself), the commentary gives to the careful reader the impression that it (the commentary) is but an abridgment from which are omitted secondary incidents known to the Sanskrit version. Two points seem to me to admit of no doubt : on the one hand, the story existed before the evolution peculiar to Northern Buddhism, since the *Pūrṇāvadāna* contains the Pāli *sutta* ; on the other, it had remained quite popular amongst the Southern Buddhists up to the time of the redaction of the *Saṅḅhūyuttatthakathā*, for this commentary introduces the two brothers in the story with the words "*ete dve Bhātaro*," without these "two brothers" having yet been mentioned. This detail confirms me in the opinion that the compilers whose intention was merely to recall that part of the story relating to the country of Sunāparanta, have not judged necessary to reproduce in its

(¹) *Samyutta or Saṅḅhūyutta-nikāya*, ed. Feer, Vol. IV, page 60 ; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pages 24.—55. Burnouf, *Introduction*, ed. 1844, pages 235—276 ; ed. 1876, page 209—245.

(²) Most of these commentaries have not yet been edited and are therefore unknown to scholars in Europe.

(1) We have reasons to believe that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pāli. The Burmese of the 10th and 11th centuries dispels all doubts on this point: for in the inscriptions of that period are found words clearly derived from Sanskrit, and not only technical terms, but words which must have already been in popular use, such as, for example, *prassad*, from Sanskrit *prāsāda*, the Pāli being *pāsāda*; *Sahrā* = Sanskrit *Cakra* (Pāli *sakka*). After its introduction into Pagan, Pāli was studied with great fervour, and the first outcome of these studies, about one century after the fall of Thatôn, was the *Sadda-nīti*, a grammar of the *Tripitaka*, and the most comprehensive in existence. Forchhammer gives 1156 A.D. as the date of this work; but Aggavamsa, the author, himself says that it was completed in 1154 A.D. Now, Aggavamsa, in the second part of his grammar, the *Dhātumālā* or "Garland of Roots," gives here and there the equivalent Sanskrit forms. It is therefore plausible to suppose that Sanskrit existed at Pagan in the 11th century at least and was scientifically studied before Pāli, for the first work in the latter language written in Burma bases itself on Sanskrit grammar to explain a few Pāli forms. Another proof is the use, in the dates of the 11th and the 12th centuries of the Hindu astronomical terminology; for instance, *Asan* = *Ācvinī* (1054 A.D.); *Mrikkasō* = *Mrgaciras* (1081 A.D.), etc. The *Siddhanta*, then, must have been known in Pagan anterior to those dates. Moreover, certain names of places and rivers indicate a familiarity, very probably already secular in Anorata's time with Hindu mythology; to give but one example: on the banks of the Irrawaddy (= Pāli, *Erāvati* = Sanskrit *airāvati*), the legend of the famous elephant *airāvata* is well known. Other proofs are less sure: thus Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*Notes on the Ka'lyāni Inscriptions*) speaks of bricks found at Tagoung and at Pagan itself, inscribed with legends in Sanskrit and older than the introduction of Southern Buddhism in Pagan; but Phayre says (*History of Burma*, page 14) that the legends were in Pāli. As it is very difficult to procure any of these bricks, I cannot settle this question; it is to be doubted whether even the Archæological Museum in Rangoon possesses any; at least, none of these short legends has ever yet been deciphered. No Sanskrit inscription has yet been found in Burma; Dr. Führer, it is true, says (*Notes on an Archæological tour in Upper Burma*) that he discovered two at Tagoung: but nothing more was ever heard of these two lithic inscriptions, of such a paramount importance if they do really exist, which I doubt very much.

(2) In Burmese : ရှေးဇာတိသမိုင်း (*Rhwe-ka-to-Samôn*). The principal temples and pagodas each have their *samôn* or "history." These histories, amid the overgrowth of marvellous tales, contain very precious historical informations, and give dates, which are generally exact, of contemporary events. Some of these *samôn* have been utilized for the compilation of the *Mahārāja-vat*; but most of them are crumbling to pieces in the dust of monasteries.

according to the Burmese, the history of the two imprints of the Buddha's left foot, which he, the Master—after having, as it is written, spent one week in the magnificent monastery built with red sandal wood—left, one, on the bank of the မန်းချောင်း (Man : Khyon)¹ stream, the other on the summit of the သစ္စာတောင် (Saccaban) Hill,² whose foot is washed by the said stream. This hill, consecrated by the Buddha's presence, is situated near Saku, in the Minbu District, which is itself comprised in the Province of Aparanta or Sunāparanta ; for the Burmese have appropriated to themselves this name at the expense of the Konkan and apply it to the region which stretches, on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, behind and above Pagan. They have not the least doubt that Sunāparanta (Sanskrit Ṣronāparānta) of the Saññuttatthakathā, is the very same as the Burmese Province called by that name. The Legend is quoted in the *Mahārājavan* when recording the foundation of Prome ;³ therein we are told that Vāṇijagāma is none else but the village called လဲကင်း (Lê Kine) by the Burmese and that it is situated in the Province of Sunāparanta.

(¹) "Charmed-stream" ; *Man* = *manta* (Sanskrit *mantra*) : it is the Nam-madā of the legend.

(²) Pron. *Thissaban* = *Saccabandha* : further on, we shall see the origin of this name.

(³) *Mahārājavan*, Vol. I, pages 167—168. Prome is written ပြည် Prañ, by the Burmese and the Arakanese. The Burmese pronounce Pyī and Pyè, the Arakanese, Pri. But the Môn (Talaings) write this word and pronounce it ပြင် Prên, and ပြန် Prawn. It is then in Talaing documents that we must look for the origin of this name, the signification of which I do not know ; * the Talaings I have consulted could not give me any information on this point. Some, however, told me that this word ought to be written, "Prôm" (pronounced exactly as Prome) ; this word means "crushed, destroyed," and Criksetra has, they say, been so called since its destruction by the Môn (Talaings) some years before the foundation of Pagan. But this etymology is not worth stopping to consider. Namantā, in the *Rājavan*, is given as the name of the stream, which is also sometimes called after the Nāga's name ; but Namantā is but a corruption of Nammadā.

* It has been urged that "*Prome*" is derived from "*Brahma*"; this may very well be. But it is remarkable that none of the nations that have known this old city call it by a name derived, according to their phonetics, from "*Brahma*." It was better known to them as Criksetra, or its modified equivalents. Phonetically, the Burmese and Arakanese ပြည် Prañ, cannot stand for "*Brahma*," and their pronunciation of it differs still more widely.

Now, the *Paganrājanī* tells us that Lê Kine or Vānījagāma is in the Province of Pūrāntappa. This name, Pūrāntappa, applies to the region already mentioned in manuscripts, and is unknown to the majority of the Burmese, even to those well educated. However the case may be, the Legend, as it is understood by them, is interesting, in that it is a very clear example of the origin of the artificial geography of Burma, in the fabrication of which some texts have been flagrantly distorted and their sense deliberately misunderstood. Before going into this question of fabrication, let me be allowed to give here the Burmese legend which forms a kind of introduction to that of *Punna*.

In olden times, there was, in the Island of ဟိန်းကြီးကျွန်း² (*Hôn-kri: kyvan*), a cultivator who possessed a magnificent bull ; this bull, as strong as he was beautiful, was savage and vicious ; no one but his master dared approach him : to do so would have been to run to a certain death. He had become the terror of the village, for he pursued and tore into pieces everything he found in his way, beasts and men. He had already carried mourning and sorrow into many families, and the fear of him had come to such a pitch that all work in the fields was at last neglected. This state of things could not last much longer, for famine and ruin were spreading their ravages in the neighbouring villages as well. The villagers assembled and, after a short discussion, unanimously resolved to destroy the ferocious animal. They apprized the owner of their intention, leaving him the choice to go somewhere else and take his bull with

Moreover, the word *Brahma* is well known to the Burmese, and is of very frequent occurrence in their sacred literature ; it is always and rightly written : ဗြဟ္မ (*brahma*) ; according to Burmese phonetics, ဗြဟ္မ might become ဗြမ်, (*bram*) ; but never, by any rule, ပြည်. It is strange that, possessing already the name in its proper form (ဗြဟ္မ, *brahma*), they should have altered it to ပြည် (*prañ*) for the city's name and to မြန်မာ (*Mranmā*) for their own national appellation.

The Talaing for "Brahma" is ဗြိုမ် (*Brom*, *pron.* *Prām*), a word extensively used in their literature, for they were under brahmanical influence for centuries ; but they too, rejecting the proper, ready-made and well-known appellation (ဗြိုမ်), call *Criksetra* by a name (ငြိန်) which, according to Talaing phonetics, cannot be a derivation of "Brahma."

(¹) Page 37 of the manuscript in my possession (page 3 of the 2nd chap.).

(²) One of the names by which Cape Negrais is known to the Burmese.

him. The farmer, who was attached to his fields, allowed them, after some demur, to do as they pleased. The villagers then armed themselves with sticks, pitchforks, bows, etc., and, after a quasi-homeric fight, brought the bull to his death; they cut up the carcase there and then, and distributed its flesh. The happy event of the bull's death was, on the evening of the very same day, celebrated by a great feast, of which the enormous animal's flesh formed one of the most delicate dishes. Unfortunately, every violent act, however justifiable, has its retribution; in consequence, all those who had taken part in the feast were born again in the forests of Sunāparanta, in Upper Burma. Some became bisons, some deer, rabbits, antelopes, wild-boars, etc., and the bull, their victim, became a hunter whose humble dwelling was a hut on the slope of the Maku/a Hill (the same which received, later on, the name of Saccabandha). This hill is now known also as "the Hunter's Hill." ¹ His arrows never erred; he roamed in the woods and on

(၁)မုချီးတောင်(Mu-cho-ton), near Lē-kôn(လယ်ကိုင်း), in the Minbu District. The legend has been perpetuated in the names of certain hills; for instance, the hill where he dried his skins is the "stretched-out-hides Hill," သားရေကြက်တောင် Sā-re-krak-ton; the one where he strung his bow is to-day: လိပ်တင်တန်း Lim (= le= တေ) -tan-kun; the forest wherein he pursued the hare is known as: ယုန်ကြည့်တော, Yun-krañ-to; and so forth, cf. the legend given by Sir George Scott (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, II, iii page 163). I do not know where Sir George has taken this story from; he has, I suppose, translated it from the *Samôn*, for it is essentially the same; but, surely, the dates mentioned are impossible. The Burmese always give the correct dates, as they are entered in the *Mahārājan*, a work found everywhere in Burma; they perhaps might make an error of some years, but never one of several centuries, as Sir George does, and the dates which he gives are not those of the *Samôn*. He says that "in 248 B.E. (*Burmese Era*, that is to say, *Caka*, = 886 A.D.) Alaung Sithu, king of Pagan, visited the Shwe-zet-taw," but Alaung Sithu became king only in 1085 A.D., according to Phayre. In Vol. II, part ii, 307, he writes: "The legend says that king Alaung Sithu, in 470 B.E. = 1108 A.D., left Minbu and went to Saku, then called Ramawadi;" the difference between the two dates given for one and the same reign is consequently 222 years! The date 1108 is not that given by the *Samôn* for the visit of this king to Minbu, but *Caka* 454 = 1092 A.D. On the page already quoted, a few lines lower down (Vol. II, iii page 163), he says: "In 427 B.E. = 1065 A.D. the king Patama (*Pathama*) Min Gaung made a dedication of lands to the Shwe-z-t-taw." But *Pathama* Min Gaung ascended the throne only in 1401 A.D., and the *Samôn* tells us that, in *Caka* 763 (= 1401 A.D.), this king visited the famous foot-prints; here, the difference is 336 years!

the hills, playing great havoc among their wild inhabitants, whose flesh he sold to his customers.

It happened the One-thousand-eyed Çakra, looking down on the earth, descried the hunter of Sunāparanta, whose bow had caused the useless death of so many innocent creatures, and his heart was moved with pity. He also perceived in the heart of the cruel hunter, as a fire mouldering under the ashes, a disposition towards spirituality which would make of him a great saint if he could be induced to embrace religious life. He, then, assumed the appearance of a hunter, descended to Sunāparanta and hid himself near a spot by which the destroyer had to pass. This hill is well known as Sakrāpun-ton (ဆကြာပုန်တောင်). The Sunāparanta hunter appeared; Çakra greeted him: "Friend, whither are you going?" "A hunting," replied the other, "for I must provide venison for my customers." Çakra, with his divine eloquence, shewed him the cruelty of thus killing innocent victims, and the terrible torments which such a profession had in store for him in the course of his future existences. "What!" exclaimed the astonished hunter, "are not you yourself a hunter? Do you not, too, make a living, in pursuing the deer in the forests?" What a fine sermon you are preaching me!" "My friend," answered Çakra,

One would be inclined to think that Sir George Scott follows a local legend giving false dates; but such is not the case, for the legend of the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* is merely that of the *Samôn* abridged, and as the dates of the *Samôn* agree with those of the *Chronicles*, one cannot understand these glaring errors in so serious a work. However, on the following page (II, iii page 164), under the heading *Shwe-zi-gôn*, he gives a date better in accordance with facts. There he writes: "It is said that the founder of the *Shwezi-gôn* is Prince Saw-Lu, a son of Anawyata Min Zau (Anuruddha-man-co), who visited Pindalè (now Minthalè) in 421 B.E. (= 1059 A.D.). Phayre makes Saw-Lu die in 1057 A.D. after a reign of five years, which is, according to the inscriptions, altogether wrong. Most of the dates given by Phayre (*History of Burma*) for the eleventh and twelfth centuries are inexact, and this part of his *History* must be read with great caution. As a matter of fact, the *Chronicles* themselves do not agree on those dates. For the beginning of Anorata's reign, the *Mahārājavān* gives 1017 A.D., and this is the date generally accepted; the old edition of the same work gives 967; the *Svè Cun Kyo Tan* (ရွှေခုံကျေတောင်), 1002 A.D. the *Pagan Rājavān* gives 999. Now, there is an inscription dated 984 A.D. erected by Anorata and speaking of a relic brought back from Thaton. All the other dates are viciated by this one. The date of his death, 1059, is confirmed by the inscriptions. The date of the fall of Thaton will perhaps have also to be corrected, although the *Kalyānī* gives 1057. The *Talaing Chronicle*

"my case is very different from yours. You kill all the animals you meet with, even when you are no longer in need of meat. I, on the contrary, with this infallible bow, scour the Himalayas in search of flying-deer, whose skin, sold to kings, brings me an immense profit. I kill not for the sole pleasure of killing. I came into these parts in pursuit of a certain flying-deer. Help me to find it. Here, take this my unerring bow and give me yours, and, if you find the deer, shoot it down." The hunter took Çakra's bow, and the latter disappeared among the trees. The divine weapon looked like a toy; but, what was not his astonishment, when, despite all his efforts and his almost superhuman strength, he did not succeed in bending it! In vain did he groan, and sweat and swear: the bow remained as rigid as the trunk of a tree centuries old. The time went swiftly by and no animal was killed, and his customers were waiting for venison. Tired, dispirited, he sat down. Çakra, still disguised as a hunter, appeared again to him. "My bow is not easy to bend, is it? Well! You will be able to bend it as easily as your own on one condition. You must promise to kill only deer one day, and the day after only does. On this trifling condition, you may keep my bow, which is matchless; for it belongs to me, Çakra!" The hunter agreed, hastily took the bow and went about looking for deer; but on that day, he

and inscriptions, which I hope to be in a position to decipher before long, *will doubtless throw a flood of light on these so important questions, as well as on the question, no less interesting, of the relations of Cambodia with the countries of the Irrawaddy Delta, relations absolutely ignored in Burmese Annals.

* The Talaing or Môn language has not yet been studied scientifically in the light of comparative philology; there are gaps in the history of Burma and Pegu (Rāmañña) that will be filled probably only when the Talaing chronicles have been read and translated; so, the affinities between the Môn and Khmer are still to be philologically established—the author, in the course of his studies of the Môn and Cambodian languages has been struck by the strong internal evidence of their relationship; the name "Môn-Annam" for this family of languages will have to be abandoned, as the Annamese has, from internal evidence, nothing in common with the Talaing and the Khmer.

The writer has now a Talaing Grammar and Chrestomaty nearly completed. The enlightened help of Government, would, in this matter, greatly facilitate the prosecution of his studies and the early publication of their results.

found only does; on the morrow he looked for does, but perceived deer only. He then understood Çakra's stratagem and, bound by a solemn promise which he dared not break, he gave up hunting, became a hermit and retired to a hill. From that day, he was known under the name of Thissa-ban (= *sacca*, promise, and *bandha*, bound), and consequently the hill on which he lived received the same name. But he did not know the true religion (*viz.*, Buddhism), and he preached in Sunāparanta a false doctrine,¹ thus causing the people to be in danger of falling into hell. Near that spot, in the village called Vānija, lived two brothers, merchants, Mahāpun and Cūlapun Here the Samôn gives, more or less faithfully, the story in the Saññyuttattakathā.²

If, now, we compare this legend and the translation of the Pāli text (*cf. infra* p. 15), which is its sequel, with the story of the *Divyāvadāna*, many points of resemblance and divergence become apparent. All the long story of the two brothers up to the departure of the elder one to Sāvatti is unknown to the Samôn and is not given by the commentators on the *Punnovāda-sutta*. The only point of resemblance between the legend of the *Samôn* and that of the *Divyāvadāna* is the hunter who becomes a hermit and subsequently a saint (*arhat*); and still, neither the manner nor the instrument of his conversion is the same. But this slight resemblance is enough to make one think that, at a certain time, the Sanskrit version was not unknown in Burma. As is almost always the case, the Pāli is more sober of miraculous happenings than the Sanskrit, and these happenings are precisely the very points whereon the two versions differ. For instance, when, on the invitation of Punna, Gotama goes to Vānija-gāma, the 499 monks accompanying him are carried through the sky in kiosques; the *Divyāvadāna* makes them go there by means of wings, or riding on fantastic animals, and even in pots and vases. The Saññyuttattakathā speaks of only one *nāga*, but the Sanskrit, of five-hundred, every one of whom creates a river unto himself in order to go to

(1) Are we to see in this "false doctrine" a remembrance of that *religion*, a medley of Mahāyānism, tantraism and Nāga-worship which prevailed in the Irrawaddy Valley before the introduction of Hīnayānist Buddhism into Pagan and the priests of which were the Ari? This *religion* disappeared only in the fifteenth century, and has left very deep traces, not yet obliterated, in the beliefs and customs of the Burmese.

(2) *Vide infra*, p. 15, the text and its translation.

Sūrpāraka, etc. Notwithstanding these differences, the story is, on the whole, the same, and probably originated from the same source. The Sinhalese also have this legend, but they seem to know both versions; for in the fragments translated by Hardy,¹ Sūrpāraka, unknown to the Pāli text, is mentioned, and so is the river Narmadā (Nammadā), of which the *Divyāvadāna* does not speak. In fine, the two imprints of the Buddha's foot, which appear to form the one important point in the legend, are unknown to the compilers of the Sanskrit work.

My intention is not to write a treatise on the ancient geography of Burma, but merely to point out the arbitrary way in which some Indian place-names have been transplanted in Burma, in spite even of explicit texts. The Legend of Punna furnishes a very clear example of this manner of fabricating ancient kingdoms and of giving to relatively modern towns an air of hoary antiquity.

Mr. Burgess² asks himself how it is that most towns and even mere villages in Burma have two names, ³ one indigenous,

(1) Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, ed., 1853, pages 57, 209 and 259-260.

(2) *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pages 387-388.

(3) Some towns have many more than two names. In the *Paganrājavan* thirteen names of Pagan are enumerated: Pokkārāma, Arimaddanā, Punnāgāma, Tampavati, Sīripaccayā, Sampunnāgāma, Pandupalāsa, Nagaruttama, Paramapura, Tāmpadesa, Velurākama (Velukārāma?), Samādhinagara, Pokkan (pron. Paukkan, from which the Burmese made Pukan = Pagan). The *Paganrājavan* gives the following etymologies, which teach us nothing concerning the etymology of "Pugam": "The Buddha having in relation to a *pok* tree (pron. *pauk*, *butea*), foretold the foundation of Pagan, the town was called "the *pok* garden" (*Pokkārāma*). It was named Arimaddanā because its kings always crushed their enemies. In Pagan, Brahmins (*punna*) lived in considerable numbers; they were traders and treasurers to the king, hence its name of Punnāgāma. (Another tradition says that the city was so called on account of its possessing large quantities of gold, silver and precious things; *punna* = full of. This derivation cannot stand; the first is probably the true one, for the Burmese have always known the Brahmins under the name of *punna*; Punnāgāma is one of the oldest and best known names of Pagan, and it shows, in an incontestable manner, the Indian influence in the 'city of Mien.') It was called Tampavati, Tāmpadesa and Pandupalāsa on account of the reddish colour of its soil; Sīripaccayā, because of its glory and magnificence; Sampunnāgāma, because its inhabitants were devoted (lit., full of, *sampannā*) to the three Jewels: the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Church; Nagaruttama, 'The Famous,' on account of its faith and piety. It was

the other Pāli or Sanskrit. I think this fictitious geography has had its origin in the national vanity, and above all, in adulation of courtiers, both Burmese and Indian, and also of historians, who could imagine nothing more likely to minister to the religious bigotry of kings, than to make them rule over provinces recalling, at every step, the Buddha's Life and the early history of Buddhism. This fabrication may also have originated in the intense religious fervour of the two or three centuries which followed the introduction of the Hinayāna into Pagan. In fact, what more natural, at a time of the religious effervescence of a new faith, than to re-name according to the holy books, and as occasions presented themselves, cities and villages and in so doing to transfer to them the numerous legends of the *Atthakathās*, sanctifying, so to say, the whole country, with the supposed presence of the Master? I think it is useless to search for more profound reasons regarding the origin of this apocryphal geography. Royal boastfulness and religious bigotry must have been, I believe, the two most powerful factors in this geographical deception.

As I have already said, the Legend of *Punna*, among a thousand others, furnishes us with a convincing proof of this: for the Pāli text makes it very clear that neither the *Sunāparanta*, nor the *Nammadā*, nor the *Vāṇijagāma* of the legend, are the places and the stream known under these names in Burma. The Sinhalese

called *Paramapura*, 'the Excellent City,' because of its numerous white elephants. On account of its powerful kings it was named *Samādhinagara*. The name *Velurākama* (*Velukārāma*) it received from the extensive bamboo jungles which surrounded it. *Pokkan* is but an abbreviation of *Pokkārāma*."

The name "Pugāma" in the *Kalyāṇi* Inscriptions is not mentioned in the *Paganrājan*: According to the rules of Burmese phonetics, *Pugāma* would necessarily become *Pugan*, long *ā* being never pronounced and rarely noted before a final consonant. I know not what *Pugāma* signifies; but I am inclined to believe that King *Dhammaceti* palicized the word *Pugan* (*Pagan*). *Lokānanda* is also given as one of the names of *Pagan*, and this brings the number of its names to fourteen.

Tagoun is called: *Saṅghassarattā*, *Saṃsayapura*, *Pancāla*. *Prome*: *Crik setra*, *Vanavāsi*, *Paṭṭhanāpaṭi*, *Varapati*, *Punnavati*. *Arakan* is known as: *Rāmmāvati*, *Rakkhapura*, *Meghavati*, *Dhaññavati* and *Dvāravati* (this last name is also applied to the Southern Shan States and to Siam). *Manipur* is: *Nāgasyanta* and *Nāgapura*. *Kale* becomes *Rājagaha*. *Rangoon* is known as *Ukkalāpa* and *Verikkhaya*.

having a Foot-Print, it was not proper that the Burmese should have none. An imaginary mark on any rock, having more or less the form of a foot, was a sufficient reason for transplanting bodily the scene of the story of *Punna* in a wild spot, and for making this spot a holy place of pilgrimage.

I do not know the exact time at which the name of *Sunāparanta* was given to the country extending behind Pagan, on the right bank of the Irrawaddy; but it cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century, or perhaps the end of the twelfth. The inscriptions of the eleventh and those of the twelfth century do not mention it. It is very remarkable that the inscriptions of these two centuries and even many belonging to the thirteenth, are composed in very sober language and are singularly free from those lists of kingdoms and empires, in which the kings of the subsequent centuries, in particular those of Ava and Amarapura, so much delighted. From the fact that I could not find this name of *Sunāparanta* in the most ancient inscriptions,¹ I would not absolutely affirm that it did not exist at that period (eleventh—twelfth centuries), but its absence at least inclines one to think so. This name, then, does not seem to be so ancient in Burma as has been believed up to now.² As to the form *Sonāparanta*: "This quasi-classical name of Indian origin, used in the Burmese Court in State documents and formal enumerations of the style of the king,"³ is absolutely unknown to the Burmese. They always write it *Sunāparanta*,

(1) The most ancient inscription found up to the present was engraved by *Anorata-man-co*, and is dated *Caka* 346 = (984 A.D.). It was engraved on the occasion of the building of a shrine for a hair of Buddha, brought back from Thavon. Earnest researches will perhaps bring to light some others more ancient still.

(2) The *Paganrājavan* expressly says (page 37): "The spot whereon *Cūlapur* built the monastery of red sandalwood in *Pūrantappa* is now known as: *Lê-kôn* (လဲကွန်)."¹ Thus, *Pūrantappa* comprised: *Lê-kôn*, *Saku* (စက), *Son-svap* (ဆာသွပ်), which are subsequently located in *Sunāparanta*. *Pūrantappa* and *Sunāparanta* designate, therefore, the same province: the first of these names is very nearly unknown now, and seems to be the most ancient. The *Samôn* (ဆာမုန်), not perceiving that these two names applied to the same region, gives them (page 23) as the names of two distinct provinces; it is a nonsensical blunder.

(3) Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. 1903, page 852, col. 1.

and give it a very different etymology, as we shall presently see.

The Pāli text of the legend has certainly not in view the Sunāparanta of Burma, but the Konkan, the Western country: Aparanta, as, in fact, the Burmese themselves also call Sunāparanta; the Divyāvadāna calls the Konkan “Çronāparānta.”¹ In Sunāparanta flows the Mammadā river (Sanskrit, Narmadā) which is none else but the modern Nerbudda, which throws its waters in the Gulf of Khambat.² The Sūrpāraka of *Divyāvadāna* is surely no other place but the Vānījagāma of the Pāli version. Vānījagāma would perhaps be better translated by “the town, or village, of the merchants.” Now, Sūrpāraka, the Suppārakapattana mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, was a great trading port and the entrepôt of Western India; ³ it was then, *par excellence*, a *vānījagāma*, a merchant's city or mercantile town.

According also to the Pāli legend, Vānījagāma was a sea-port, since Culapunnā embarks there to “cross the sea.” Sūrpāraka is situated at the estuary of the Nerbudda, and there also, the commentators on the *Punnovādā-sutta* locate Vānījagāma; these two names, therefore, designate but one and the same town, situated near the mouth of a river in the Western country.

The Nammadā and the Vānījagāma of the Burmese do not fulfil any of these conditions. Their Sunāparanta or Aparanta is not to the West, but, according to Buddhist cosmology, to the East; their Nammadā is not a river flowing into the sea, but an insignificant hill stream flowing into a river; their Vānījagāma therefore cannot, in any possible manner, be a sea-port. The author or authors of the *Samôn* have so well understood this that they make Culapunnā embark at Negrais Island, in order to give to their falsification a plausible appearance of truth. As to the mountain “Makuḷa” or “Mātula,” it is with more common sense placed in India by the *Mônrajavan*.⁴

(1) Cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, page 252 (or 225), note 2, where he says that Wilford, taking his information from the *Varāhasamhitā*, speaks of Aparāntikās situated to the west.

(2) McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Supāra.

(3) McCrindle, *ibid.*

(4) Rangoon, 1899, page 75.

However, the names of Sunāparanta and Aparanta ¹ having been given to a Burmese province, it became necessary to cite authoritative texts in order, if possible, to legalize, so to say, this plagiarism by means of the sacred books. And this, the Burmese have done, but very clumsily, for their favourite text goes directly against their assertion. The *Sāsanālankāra* ² enumerating the names of the missionaries who, according to the *Dīpavamsa* ³ were sent to different countries during the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign, and also the names of those countries, says that that *bhikkhu Yonarakkhita* was sent to Aparanta (Aparāntaka) and adds that Aparāntaka is the same as Sunāparanta in Burma. As a conclusive proof of this identity he (the author of the *Sāsanālankāra*) gives ⁴ the story of the Sakka (Sanskrit Çakra) Mandhātā: Mandhātā had brought with him to the *devaloka* an inhabitant from each of three of the four great islands or continents (*mahādīpa*); these three unfortunate men being unable, for a very simple reason (they did not know the way, and the Sakka was dead), to go back to their homes, approached the *parināyakarātana*, viz., the Sakka's eldest son, who assigned to each of them a country corresponding, by its position at least, to the one he had left: Videha, being to the East, would, in future, be the country of the inhabitant of Pubbavideha, the Eastern island; Kuru, in the North, would become that of the citizen of the Northern Island, Uttarakuru; and the inhabitant of Aparagoyānadīpa, the Western Island, would have for his country Aparanta, the West-country. ⁵ The *Sāsanālankāra* here, adds—"and as the son (*sūna*) of Sakka assigned to him this country to live in in future, Aparanta is also called Sunāparanta, "the West Country of

(¹) See *Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya*, Vol. I, page 19, line 12; *ibid.*, page 43, line 5, and in many other places. Cf. *Vohāralinattadīpani*, page 221: "Sunāparanta, which includes: Caku, Calan, Bon-lan, Lê-kôn, Son-svap, etc.; Tampadīpa, which includes: Sārekhetara, Pagan, Pan-ya, etc."

(²) Rangoon, 1897, page 22.

(³) Chapter VIII; also *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter XII.

(⁴) The author of the *Sāsanālankāra*, generally so accurate in his quotations, says that this story is found in the commentary on the *Mahāsatiṭṭhānasutta* (*Dīghanikāya*, *Mahāvagga*, IX); it is not so: the story is in the commentary on the *Mahānidānasutta* (*ibid.*, II).

(⁵) *Mahānidānasuttatthakathā*.

Sakka's son ; Sunāparanta or Aparanta is then, incontestably, in Burma (!) " Such is, in fact, the often recurring etymology given by the Burmese to this word : but the text is most flagrantly violated, for it shows clearly that the Commentators place Aparanta, *alias* Sunāparanta, to the West and not to the East, as the Burmese will at any cost have it.

From what has above been said it may be gathered : (a) That the Burmese, before the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, do not seem to have known the bank of the Irrawaddy, behind and above Pagan, under the name of Aparanta or Sunāparanta. Pagan itself was included in the province of Tampadipa.¹ The inscriptions of that period do not mention this name (at least, as far as I have been able to verify this assertion by means of the inscriptions already published), and it is remarkable that the *Mahārājavan* in the long notice consecrated to Anorata, does not introduce this name, as also does the *Paganrājavan*² which places Saku, Lêkôn, Sônsvap, etc. (towns always enumerated as being in Sunāparanta) in Pūrantappa, a name which is now forgotten and appears to be the original name of the province later known as Sunāparanta.

(b) That the form "Sonāparanta" is not known in Burma, though always given by Yule, the form Sunāparanta being always found in the inscriptions and in documents ; no Burmese authority anywhere gives to this word the meaning of the Aurea Regio of Ptolemy, and, if the ancients knew this part of Burma under this appellation, it seems to have been unknown by the Burmese themselves, who, after having borrowed it, under another form, from the Pāli *Atthakathās*, do not understand it as meaning "golden frontier."

(c) In the *Atthakathās*, Aparanta or Sunāparanta does not designate Central Burma, but a country situated to the West, on the sea-shore, possessing a famous seaport at the estuary of the river Nammadā (Narmadā, Nerbudda). Now, Aparanta has been identified with the Konkan ; Sūrpākara, the great trading centre

(¹) Cf. *supra*, page 13, note 1.

(²) The *Paganrājavan* uses the word "Sunāparanta" in the history of the reign of King Sen Lan Kron ; but the *Paganrājavan* was compiled many centuries after the fall of Pagan, and at a time when this name was popular and known to everybody ; it must, therefore, not be inferred from this that the name already existed in the time of Sen Lan Kron.

of Western India, with Supāra and the Narmadā with the Nerbudda; moreover, the Commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* locates Aparanta, most expressly to the west.

The Burmese, then, have renamed, from a Pāli legend, a province, a torrent and a small town of the Valley of the Irrawaddy and, to justify themselves in doing so, have deliberately violated two texts which are most explicit and plain.

EXTRACT FROM THE PUNNOVADASUTTATTHAKATHA.

TEXT.(1)

“Atha kho āyasmā Punno'ti...” Ko pan'esa Punno? Kasmā ca pan'ettha gantukāmo ahositi? Sunāparantavāsiko ² eva esa, Sāvatthiyam pana asappāyam vihāram sallakkhetvā, tattha gantukāmo ahosi. Tatrayam anupubbikathā.

Sunāparantarā he kira ekasmim vānigāme ete dve bhātaro; tesu kadāci je'tho pancasakatasatāni gahetvā janapadam gantvā bhandam āharati, kadāci kanittho. Imasmim pana samaye kanittham gharo thapetvā jetthabhātiko pancasakatasatāni gahetvā, janapadacārikam caranto anupubbena Sāvattim patvā Jetavanassa nātidūre sakatasattham nivāsetvā, bhuttapātarāso parijanaparivuto phāsukattāne ³ nisīdi. Tena ca samayena Sāvattvivāsino bhuttapātarāsā uposathangāni adhitthāya suddhuttarāsangā gandhapupphā ⁴ dihatthā yena Buddhō yena Dhammo yena Sangho tanninnā tappoṇā tappabbhārā hutvā, dakkhi ⁵ nadvārena nikkhamitvā Jetavanam gacchanti So te disvā “kham ⁶ ime gacchanti” ekam manussam ⁷ pucchi. “Kin tvam ayyo na jānāsi loke Buddhadhammasaṅgharatanāni ⁸ nāma uppannāni iccso mahājano Satthu santikam dhammakatham sotum gacchati.” Tassa Buddhō'ti vacanam chavicammādinī chinditvā atthimiñjam āhacca atthāsi. Attano parijanaparivuto ⁹ tāya ¹⁰ parisāya saddhim vihāram

(1) I had at my disposal, to establish the text, two manuscripts. The first, *B*, very defective, is in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon; the text is full of corrections and mistakes; the second, *A*, much more correct, was lent to me by the abbot of the Mezali monastery, Rangoon; it is written very legibly and contains but few mistakes. I, therefore, took it as a basis, merely noting the principal mistakes of *B*. A third manuscript was sent to me when the work was finished; but it is still more defective than *B*, of which it reproduces the majority of the mistakes; I did not, on that account, think it necessary to use it; it appears, moreover, to have been copied from *B*. (2) *A* Sunāparantare. (3) *B* bāsuka (4) *B* puppa .. (5) *B* dakkhana... (6) *B* katam. (7) *B* manussa. (8) *A*... ratanānam. (9) *A* parivato. (10) *B* parijanaparivutāya parisāya.

gantvā Satthu madhurasarena dhammam ¹ desentassa ² parisapariyante *thito* dhammam ³ sutvā pabbajjāya ⁴ cittam ⁵ uppādesi. Atha Tathāgatena kālam viditvā parisāya ⁶ uyyojitāya Satthāram upasankamitvā vanditvā svātanāya nimantetvā, dutiyadivase mandapam kāretvā āsanāni paññāpetvā Buddhapamukhassa sanghassa mahādānam datvā, bhuttapātarāso upasathangāni ⁷ adhi¹thāya bhandāgārikam pakkosāpetvā : “ Ettakam dhanam ⁸ vissajjitam, ettakam na ⁹ vissajjitan ti ” sabbam ācikkhitvā, “imam sāpateyyam mayham ¹⁰ kanitthassa dehīti ” sabbam niyyādetvā, Satthu santike pabbajitvā ¹¹ kammattthānaparāyano ahosi. Ath’assa kammattthānam manasikarontassa kammattthānam na upatthāti ; tato cintesi : “ Ayam janapado mayham asappāyo ¹² , yannūnāham Satthu santike kammattthānam gahetvā sakarattham eva gaccheyyan ti.” Atha pubbanhasamaye ¹³ pindāya caritvā sāyanhe ¹⁴ patisallānā ¹⁵ vutthahitvā Bhagavantam upasankamitvā kammattthānam kathāpetvā sattsāhanāde ¹⁶ naditvā pakkāmi. Tena vuttam : “ Atha kho āyasmā Punno — pa — viharatīti. ¹⁷ ” Kattha panāyam vihasīti? Catūsu thānesu vihasī. Sunāparantaratttham tāva pavisitvā ca Appahatapabbatam nāma pavisitvā Vānījagāmam pindāya pāvisi. Atha nam kanitthabhātā sañjānitvā bhikkham datvā : “ Bhante, aññattha agantvā idh’eva ¹⁸ vasathāti ” patiññam kāretvā tatth’eva vasāpesi. Tato Samuddagirivihāram nāma agamāsi; tattha ayakantapāsānehi paricchinditvā katacankamo atthi; tam koci cānkamitum samattho nāma n’atthi; tattha samudavāciyo ¹⁹ āgantvā ²⁰ ayakantapāsānesu paharitvā mahāsaddam karonti. Thero : “ Kammattthānam manasikarontānam phāsuvihāro hotūti ” samuddam nisaddam katvā adhi¹thāsi. Tato Mātulagirim nāma agamāsi; tattha pi sakunasangho ussanno ²¹ ratiñ ca divā ca saddo eko bandho ²² va ahosi; thero : “ Idam thānam na phāsu kan ti ” tato Pakula ²³ kārānavihāram nāma gato; so Vānījagāmassa nātiduro naccāsanno gamanāgamanasampanno vivitto appa-

(¹) B dhamma. (²) B desentassam. (³) B dhamma. (⁴) A and B pappaj... (⁵) A and B citta. (⁶) B pariyāya. (⁷) B. thagāni. (⁸) A has pana and omits dhanam. (⁹) B has pana before na. (¹⁰) A omits mayham. (¹¹) B pappaj (¹²) A appāyo. (¹³) B pubbanasamaye. (¹⁴) B Sayanhe. (¹⁵) A... sallānā. (¹⁶) B Satthusāhanānaditvā. (¹⁷) see text of the Saññuttanikāya, Salayatana, Punnovādasutta ed. Feer, Volume IV, page 63. (¹⁸) B icceva. (¹⁹) A viciyo; B...gijaciyo. (²⁰) A agantvā. (²¹) B ussanno. (²²) bhan to. (²³) B Pakulha (?)

saddo; therō: "Imam *thānam* phāsukan ti" tattha rattitthānadivā-
*thānacāṅkamanā*dini kāretvā vāsam upagacchi. Evam catūsu
thānesu vihāsi.

Ath'ekadivasam tasmim yeva antovasse pañcavāṇijakasatāni ¹:
"Pārasamuddam gacchāmāti" nāvāya bhandam pakkhipimsu.
Nāvārohanadivase therassa kanitthabhātā theram bhojetvā therassa
santike sikkhāpadāni gahetvā vanditvā: "Bhante, samuddo nāma
asaddheyo ² anekantarāyo āvajjeyyāthāti" vatvā nāvam ³ āruhi.
Nāvā uttamajavena ⁴ gacchamānā aññataram dīpakam pāpuni;
manussā: "Pātarāsam karissāmāti" dīpakē uttinnā. Tasmim
pana dīpake aññam kiñci n'atthi, candanavanam eva ahosi.
Ath'eko vāsiyā rukkhām ākoṭetvā lohita-candanabhāvam ṇātvā āha:
"Bho! mayam lābhatthāya pārasamuddam gacchāma, ito ca
uttarim lābho nāma n'atthi, caturangulamattā ⁵ ghaṭikā satasahas-
sam agghati, hāreṭabbayuttakam bhandam hāretvā candanassa
pūremāti. ⁶" Te tathā karimsu. Candanavane adhivatthā ⁷
amanussā kujjhivā: "Imehi amhākam candanavanam nāsitam
ghāṭessāma ⁸ ne 'ti" cintetvā, "idh'eva ghāṭitesu sabbam ekaku-
napam bhavissati samuddamajjhe nesam nāvam osidāpessāmāti ⁹"
āhamsu. Atha tesam nāvam āruyha muhuttam gatakāle yeva
uppāṭikam ¹⁰ utthāpetvā sayam pi te amanussā bhayānakāni
rūpāni dassayimsu. Bhītā manussā attano attano devatānam
namassanti. Therassa kanittho Culapunno kuṭumbiko ¹¹:
Mayham bhātā avassayo hotūti" therassa nāmam saramāno atthāsi.
Thero pi kira tasmim yeva khane āvajjitva ¹² tesam byasanappatim
ṇātvā vehāsam uppatitvā abhimukho atthāsi. Amanussā theram
disvā va apakkamimsu ¹³, uppāṭikam sannisīdi. Thero: "Mā
bhāyathāti" te assāsetvā, "kaḥam gantukām'atthāti" pucchi.
"Bhante, amhākam sakatthānam eva gacchissāmāti. ¹⁴" "Thero
nāvāngane akkamitvā: ¹⁵ "Etesam icchitattthānam gacchatūti"
adhiṭṭhāsi. Vāṇijā sakatthānam gantvā tam pavattim puttadārassa
ārocetvā: "Etha, theram saranam gacchāmāti" pañcasatā pi
attano pañcahi mātugāmasatehi saddhim tisu sarānesu patitthāya
upāsakattam paṭivedesum. Tato nāvāya bhandam otāretvā
therass'ekam kottthāsam ¹⁶ katvā: "Ayam, bhante, tumhākam

(1) B pāṇija... (2) B asaddvejo... (3) B utta pajagavana (!). (4) B
caturagula. (5) B pūrethāti. (6) A .. vatto. (7) A ghātes... (8) A and B
osidissāmāti. (9) A uppāḍik... (10) A kuṭumpiko. (11) B bhūv... (12) B pakk...
(13) A gacchāmāti. (14) B nāvāngane attametvā. (15) B katthakam.

kotthāso ti" āha¹msu. Thero: "Mayham visum *kotthāsakiccā*m n'atthi: Satthā pana tumhehi *dittḥapubbo*'ti?"—"Na *dittḥapubbo*, bhante'ti." — "Tena hi, iminā Satthu *mandalamāla*m karotha, *evam* Satthāram passissathāti." Te "Sādhu, bhante'ti" tena ca *kotthā*sena attano ca *kotthā*sēhi *mandalamāla*m kāretum ārabhim-su. Satthā pi kira āradhakālato *patthā*ya paribhogam akāsi. Ārakkhamanussā rattim obhāsam disvā: "Mahesakkhā devatā atthiti" saññam² karimsu. Upāsakā *mandalamāla*ṇ ca bhikkhu-saṅghassa ca āsanāni *nittḥā*petvā dānasambhāram sajjetva: "Ka-tam, bhante, amhehi attano kiccā, Satthāram pakkosathāti" therassa ārocesum. Thero sāyanhasamayē iddhiyā Sāvattḥim gantvā: "Bhante, Vānijaḡāma³vāsino tumhe *datthukā*mā, tesam anukāmpam karoḥāti" Bhagavantam yāci. Bhagavā adhi⁴vāsesi; therō sakatthānam eva paccāgato. Bhagavā pi Ānandatheram āmantesi: "Ānanda, sve⁵ Sunāparante Vānijaḡāme pindāya carissāma; tvam ekūnapancasatānam bhikkhūnam salākam dehiti." Thero: "Sādhu, bhante'ti" bhikkhusaṅghassa tam attham ārocet-vāna⁶ va: "cārikabhikkhū salākam gaṇhantūti" āha. Tam divasam Kundodhānathero pathamam salākam aggahe⁷si. Vāni-jagāma⁸vāsino pi: "Sve kira Satthā āga⁹missati" gāma¹⁰majjhe mandapam katvā dānaggam sajjayimsu. Bhagavā pāto va sarīra-patijagga¹¹nam katvā gandhakutim pavisitvā phalasamāpattim appetvā nisīdi. Sakkassa paṇḍukambalasilāsanam¹² unham ahosi. So: "Kim idan ti" āvajjetvā Satthu Sunāparanta¹³gamanam disvā Visukammam āmantesi: "Tāta, ajja Bhagavā timsamattāni yojanasatāni pinda¹⁴cārikam ga¹⁵missati; pañcakutāḡārasatāni māpet-vā Jetavanadvā¹⁶rakotthakamatthake gamanasajjāni katvā thapehī ti." So tathā akāsi. Bhagavato kutāḡāram catumukham ahosi, dvinnam aggasāvakānam dvimukhāni, sesāni ekamukhāni. Satthā gaṇdhaku¹⁷ṭito nikkhamma paṭipāṭiyā thapitaku¹⁸ḡāgresu varaku¹⁹tā-gāram pāvīsi; dve aggasāvake ādim katvā ekunapañcābhikkhusa-tāni pi pañca²⁰ kutāḡārasatāni ahesum, ekam tuccham ku²¹tāḡāram ahosi; pañcakutāḡārasatāni ākāse uppatimsu. Satthā Sacca-bandhapabbatam nāma patvā kutāḡāram ākāse thapesi. Tasmim pabbate Saccabandho nāma micchādittḥikatāpaso mahājanam micchādittḥim ugga²²nhāpento lābhagga²³yasaggapatto hutvā vasati. Abbhantare c' assa antocāṭiyam padīpo viya arahattaphalassa

(1) Āññam. (2) A se. (3) B ārocetvā navatarikabhikkhū... gaṇhantūti.

(4) ...B silāsanam.

(5) B. thapetiti. (6) The two Mss. omi tpañca.

upanissayo jalati. Tam disvā: “Dhammam assa ¹ kathessāmiti” gantvā dhammam ² desesi; tāpaso desanāpariyosāne arahat-tam pāpuṇi, maggen’ev’assa abhinnā āgatā, ehibhikkhu hutvā iddhimayapattacivaradharo kuṭāgāram pāvīsi. Bhagavā kuṭāgāra-gatehi pañcahi bhikkhusatehi saddhim Vāṇijagāmam gantvā kuṭāgārāni adissamānakāni katvā Vāṇijagāmam pāvīsi. Vāṇijā Buddhapamukhassa sanghassa mahādānam datvā Satthāram Makuḷakārāmam nayimsu; Satthā mandalamālam pāvīsi. Mahājano: “Yāva Satthā ³ gattadaratham patippassambhetiti ⁴” pātārāsam gantvā uposathangāni samādāya bahum gandhaṇ ca pupphaṇ ca ādāya dhammasavanatthāya ārāmam agamāsi; Satthā dhammam desesi, mahājanassa bandhanā makkho jāto; mahantam Buddhakolāhalam ⁵ ahosi. Satthā mahājanassa sangahattham ⁶ sattāham tatth’eva vasi; arunam pana mahāgandhakutiyaṃ utthāpesi. Sattāham pi dhammadesanāpariyosāne caturāsitiyā pānasahassānam dhammābhisamayo ahosi. Tattha sattāham ⁷ vasitvā Vāṇijagāme pindāya caritvā: “Tvam idh’eva vasāhiti” Punna-theram nivattetvā, antare Nammadānadi ⁸ nāma atthi, tassa tiram agamāsi. Nammadānāgarājā ⁹ Satthu paccuggamanam katvā nāgabHAVANAM pavesetvā tinnam ratanānam sakkāram akāsi. Satthā tassa dhammam kathetvā nāgabHAVANā nikkhami ¹⁰; so: “Mayham, bhante, paricaritabbam dethāti” yāci. Bhagavā Nammadānāditiṇe padacetiyaṃ dassesi; tam vicīsu āgatāsu pidhīyati ¹¹ gatāsu vivariyati mahāsakkārappattam ahosi. Satthā tato nikkhamitvā Saccabandhapabbatam gantvā Saccabandham āha: “Tayā mahājano apāyamagge otārīto ¹², tvam idh’eva vasitvā etesam laddhim ¹³ visajjāpetvā nibbānamagge patiṭṭhāpehīti.” So’pi paricaritabbam yāci. Satthā ghana ¹⁴ piṭṭhipāsāne allamatika ¹⁵ pindimhi ¹⁶ lañchanam viya padacetiyaṃ dassesi. Tato Jetavanam eva gato. Etam attham sandhāya: “Ten’evantaravassen’ādi” ¹⁷ vuttam. (Parinibbāyīti anupādhisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyī) ¹⁸. Mahājano therassa sattadivasāni sarīrapūjam katvā bahūni gandhakatthāni samodhānetvā sarīram jhāpetvā dhātuyo ādāya cetiyaṃ akāsi.

(1) B dhammassā. (2) B omits dhammam. (3) B sattā. (4) A patipas... (5) B... kolā alam. (6) B sangāh... (7) B satth’āham. (8) B Nammadānanadi. (9) B Nammadānanāgarājā. (10) B Nnikkhamam. (11) B viyati. (12) A otarito. (13) B laddham. (14) A ghānap .. (15) B... patti. (16) B... pindamhi.

(17) See the text of the Punnovādasutta, loc. laud. (18) This belongs to the commentary on the sutta.

TRANSLATION.

"At that time,¹ are we told, the *reverend Punna*"
 But who was this *Punna*? and why was he desirous to go there? ²
 He was a native of *Sunāparanta* and perceiving that the sojourn
 of *Savatthi* was not suitable ³ to him, he wished to go back to
 his country. Here is the regular story,

In a certain merchants' village ⁴ in the kingdom of *Sunāpa-*
ranta there lived *these* two brothers. ⁵ Sometimes the elder,
 taking five hundred carts, would go to the districts and bring
 goods; at other times the younger one would go. Now
 on this occasion, the elder brother left the younger one at home,
 took five hundred carts and went from district to district so that
 in time he reached *Savatthi*, and made his caravan encamp not
 far from the *Jetavana*. Then having breakfasted, he sat down, sur-
 rounded by his retinue, in an agreeable spot. At this moment, the
 citizens of *Sāvatthi*, after their morning meal, having resolved to
 observe the *Uposatha* precepts were leaving the town by the
 southern gate and going to the *Jetavana* clad all in white, carry-
 ing perfumes, flowers and so forth, attracted by an invincible
 inclination towards the Buddha, the Doctrine and the assembly of
 the Brethren. *Punna* saw them, and asked one of them:
 "Whither are these going?" "What! Sir, dost not thou know that
 the Three Jewels—the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Assembly of
 the Brethren—have appeared in the world? These people are going
 to the Buddha to hear him preach the Law." The word "*Bud-*
dha" thrilled ⁶ him. Surrounded by his retinue he repaired to
 the monastery with the congregation and standing behind them,
 listened to the master preaching the doctrine in a sweet voice;
 having heard the doctrine he conceived a desire for the religious
 life. When the *Tathāgata*, knowing the moment was come, had
 sent back the assembly, *Punna* approached the master and having

(¹) In the *Saṅṅyutta-nikāya* (cf. ed. Feer, Vol. IV, page 60).

(²) That is, to *Sunāparanta*.

(³) For the exercise of *Kammattihāna*, or religious meditation.

(⁴) *Vāṇijagāma*, might also be translated as a proper noun: Hardy, *Man-
 ual of Buddhism*, page 260, translates this word by "the merchant's village."

(⁵) That is, *Mahāpunna*, the elder and the hero of the story, and his
 brother *Cūlapunna* cf. page 1.

(⁶) Lit., "pierced his skin and penetrated to the marrow of his bones."

saluted him, invited him for the morrow. On the next day, he had a pavilion built wherein he prepared seats, and gave great offerings to the clergy with Buddha at their head; then, himself having finished his morning meal, bound himself to observe the eight precepts. He then called his treasurer: "So much has been spent, so much has not been," and he gave him the account of everything; "Give this property to my younger brother"; and he made over everything to him, after which, he received ordination at the master's hands and lost himself in meditation. But although he devoted himself to it, he did not succeed: then, he thought, "This country is not favourable to me; what if I were to ask for a subject for meditation from the Master and go back to my country?" He made his morning tour for food, and, in the evening, rising from his seclusion, approached the Blessed One and having made him recite a formula for meditation, uttered seven joyful exclamations and departed. It is why it is said: "*At that time the reverend Punna . . . dwelt.*" But where did he dwell? He dwelt in four places. He first entered the kingdom of Sunāparanta, went to the Appahata mountain, and entered into the merchants' village (Vāṇijagāma) for his food. His brother recognized him, fed him and told him: "Reverend, do not go anywhere else, but dwell even here," and having made him promise to do so, he put him up in that place. Thence, he went to the Samuddagiri (the ocean mountain) monastery, where there was a cloistered walk marked out by lodestones;¹ but nobody could walk therein (to meditate), for the billows, breaking on those stones, made a great noise. The *thera* said: "Let this be a pleasant spot for those given up to meditation" and, by the power of his resolution, he made the ocean quiet. Thence he repaired to the Mātula mountain; but there, too, were flocks of birds, making a perpetual noise, night and day; the *thera* thought: "This spot is not suitable," and he went to the monastery of Paku/aka. This monastery was neither far from nor near the merchants' village; it was in a retired spot, quiet, and communications were easy. The *thera*, thinking: "This is a suitable place," had built therein for himself a cell for the night and one for the day, a covered walk, etc., and

(1) Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 260; to these places he gives the names of Mudugiri, Mailigiri and Mularāma.

dwelt there. Thus he lived in four places. ¹ Then, one day, in that very period of *vassa*, five hundred traders, intending to cross the ocean, loaded a ship with goods. On the day of embarking the *thera's* younger brother, having fed the latter and received from him the precepts, ² saluted him : "The ocean, your reverence, is not to be trusted ; it is full of dangers ; you should think (of us)." Having thus spoken he went on board. The ship, going with great speed, came to a certain island : "Let us prepare breakfast," said the men and they disembarked on the island. Now, on that island, there was nothing but a forest of sandal ; one of the traders, having struck a tree with an axe and perceiving it was red sandal, said : "Friends ! we cross the seas for the sake of gain ; now, there is no greater gain then from this, a bit about four inches ³ is worth one hundred thousand (coins). Let us get rid of all the goods we can and let us make a full cargo of sandalwood." So they did. The goblins ⁴ inhabiting the sandal forest were enraged : "Our sandal forest has been destroyed by these people, let us kill them !" said they ; but they reflected : "If we kill them here, the whole island will become a charnel house ; let us sink their vessel in mid-ocean." The traders re-embarked ; but after a few moments, the goblins caused a storm to rise and shewed themselves to them under fearful shapes. Terrified, the men worshipped each his tutelary deity. The *thera's* brother, Cūlapunna the householder, thought : "Let my brother be my refuge !" and he mentally invoked the *thera's* name. At this very moment, the *thera*, thinking (of the merchants) perceived they were near their ruin ; he rose into the sky and stood before them. The goblins seeing him, fled. "Do not fear," said the *thera* to the traders, and having comforted them,

(1) The whole story, from beginning to end, occupies but one season of *vassa* or "rainy season." Mahāpunna was looking out for a suitable spot, wherein to spend, in quiet, the lenten season, as is practised even now-a-days, and retired at last near Vāṇijagāma (the Lê-kôn ဘိက္ခုနီ, of the Burmese).

(2) It must be understood that he promises the *Thera* to observe the five moral precepts or *sila*, which are binding on all good Buddhists.

(3) Burnouf, *Introduction* (page 258 or 230), speaks of a Tibetan measure called *pho* : the Burmese have also a weight, now become obsolete, called *pho* and equal to five ticals ; it is mentioned in the Burmese version of the *Vessantara-jātaka*.

(4) a-manussā = non-men.

he enquired whither they desired to go; they answered: "Reverend Sir, we wish to go to our country." The *thera* came on deck and formed the mental resolution—"Let this ship go where they desire!" The merchants, having gone back to their country, told these events to their families: "Come," said they, "let us take our refuge in the *thera*,¹" and the five hundred merchants, with their five hundred wives, having been established in the Three Refuges,² announced they were (now) lay disciples. They then unloaded the vessel, and offered one share (of the sandal cargo) to the *thera*, saying, "Reverend Sir, here is your share." But he answered, "I have personally no need of a share. But, have you ever seen the Master?" "No, Reverend Sir, we have never seen him." "Very well, then, with this share build a pavilion,³ and thus, you will see the Master." "Very well, Reverend," said they, and with his share and theirs they began building the pavilion. It is said that, from the time they began to build, the Master took possession of it. The watchmen, seeing in the night a light, thought that a powerful god lived there. The lay disciples having finished the building, arranged seats for the clergy and prepared the things intended as offerings, apprized the *thera* that their task was over and that he should invite the Master. Early in the morning, the *thera*(⁴) went to Savatthi by means of his superhuman power and begged of the Blessed One: "Lord, the inhabitants of Vāṇijagāma are desirous to see you; do them this favour." The Blessed One consented, and the *thera* came back, and the Blessed One called the *thera* Ānandā: "Ānandā," said he, "to-morrow, we shall go to Vāṇijagāma in Sunāparanta, for our food, give out tickets to 499 monks." The *thera* said: "Even so, Lord"; and, having told that matter to the assembled monks, he invited those that had to come to take their ticket. On that day, the *thera* Kundodhāna took out the first ticket.⁵ The inhabitants of Vāṇijagāma, knowing the Master would come on the morrow, built a

(1) That is, "Let us become Buddhists and the Thera's disciples."

(2) The Buddha, his Doctrine and the Order.

(3) The *saṃḥ* says: a monastery. It is supposed still to exist under the name of Nan-sā-kron (နန္ဒာကြွေ), "the sandal monastery."

(⁴) Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, page 209, translates: "the priest Sunāparanta," instead of: "the priest of Sunāparanta."

(5) Mere allusion to an incident which is told *in extenso* in the *Divyāvadāna*. Burnouf, *Introduction* (page 260 or 232, note 1), tries to find the etymology of

shed in the middle of the village and prepared a hall for the offerings. The Blessed One, having finished his ablutions early in the morning, entered his room (lit., the Perfumed Chamber) and sat, meditating deeply on the fruition of the Path. The marble throne of Sakka (Sanskrit *Çakra*) became hot. Sakka considered what the cause was, and, seeing the Master was about to go to Sunāparanta, he called Visukamma (Sanskrit *Vicvakarman*): "Dear son, to-day, the Blessed One will go on a begging tour of thirty and one hundred *yojanas*: make five hundred kiosks and place them, ready to go, on the portico of the Jetavana. Visukamma did so. The kiosk of the Blessed One had four entrances, those of the two principal disciples ¹ had two, and the rest one entrance each. The Master left his room, and, among the kiosks ranged in a line, entered the most magnificent. Counting the two principal disciples, there were four hundred and ninety-nine monks and five hundred kiosks, of which one was empty. The five hundred kiosks rose into the sky. When the Master arrived at the mountain called Saccabandha, he stopped his kiosk in the air. On this mountain lived a religious heretic, known as Saccabandha, who taught

the name : *Kundopadhāna* ; it will be remarked that the pāli text calls this monk simply : *Kundodhāna*. He is also mentioned (*Ekanguttara*, *Etadagga-vaggo*) as being one of the eighty principal disciples of the Buddha, and the commentary on the *Ekanguttara* gives, to explain his name, this amusing story. In a previous existence he had been a *Bhūma-devatā* and committed certain faults, the fruits of which he reaped in his subsequent states of existence ; the commentary goes on :

" *Bhumadevatā tassa kammassa nissandena ekam buddhantaram apāyato na mucchittha ; sace pana kālena kālam manussattam āgacchati aññena kenaci kato doso tass'eva upari patati. Eso amhākam Bhagavato kāle Sāvatthiyam brāhmanakule nibbatti ; Dhānamānavo'ti tassa nāmam akamsu. So vayappatto tayo bede uggañhitvā mahallakakāle Satthu dhammadesanam sutvā paṭiladdha-saddho pabbajitvā tassa upasampannadivasato patthāya ekā alankatapaṭiṇyaṭṭā itthi, tasmim gāmam pavisante tena saddhim eva gāmam pavisati, nikkhamante nikkhamati, vihāram pavisante pi pavisatiti, titthante pi titthati. Evam niccānubandhā paññāyati. Thero tam pana passati, tassa pana purimassa kammassa nissandena upatthitvā (?) gāme yāgubhikkham dadamānā itthiyo : 'Bhante, ayam eko yāgu ulunko tumhākam, eko imissā amhākam sahāyikāyā'ti' parihāsam karonti. Therassa mahatī vihesā hoti ; vihāragatam pi sāmanerā c'eva harabhikkhū ca parivāretvā : 'Dhāno kondo jāto'ti' parihāsam karonti. Ath' assa ten'eva kāranena koudodhānathero'ti nāmam jātam."*

(1) Moggallāna and Sāriputta.

heretical doctrines to the people ; he enjoyed the best offerings and the greatest honours ; but in his heart, like a lamp hidden in a vase, shone his predestination to sanctity. Seeing this (the Buddha thought) : " I will expound the Doctrine to him " and going, preached a sermon to him. The monk, at the end of this religious instruction, became a saint, and in the way, ¹ obtained the six supernatural faculties, and then, having become a monk according to the formula, ² " *Ehi bikkhu*," he suddenly found himself carrying an alms-bowl and wearing robes created by the miraculous power of the Buddha ; and he entered into the kiosk. ³ Then, the Blessed One with the five hundred monks in their kiosks, went towards the merchants' village (*Vāṇijagāma*), and having made the kiosks invisible, entered the village. The merchants, having given great offerings to the clergy with the Buddha at their head, took the Master to the Makula Monastery, and the Master entered into the pavilion. The people said : " Meanwhile, let the Master rest himself from his bodily fatigue," and they went to their breakfast ; then, they took upon themselves the performance of the precepts and, loaded with perfumes and flowers, went to the monastery to listen to the Law. The Master expounded his Doctrine, and the people were freed from their bonds ; and there was a great uproar caused by the Buddha's presence.

The master dwelt there for a week, for the people's spiritual benefit, sitting up in the " Perfumed Chamber " ⁴ till the break of day. At the close of these seven days' preaching, 84,000 persons attained to the understanding of the Law. Having (then) dwelt there for a week, he entered *Vāṇijagāma* on his begging tour, and, assigning it to the *Thera Punna* for his residence, left him. On the way there was a river called *Nammadā* ; he went to the bank thereof. The king of the *Nammadā Nāgas* came forth to meet the master, took him into the *Nāga-mansion* and did honour to the Three Jewels. The Master unfolded to him the Doctrine and left his abode, and the *Nāga* king begged of him : " Lord, give me

(1) That is, while he was advancing towards the Buddha.

(2) "*Ehi, bhikkhu !* Come, O mendicant !" This was the usual formula with which the Buddha received in his Order, the persons desirous of leading the religious life.

(3) The kiosk which had been kept empty.

(4) Thus was called his private room

something that I may honour." ¹ The Blessed One impressed ² and left as a relic the mark of his foot on the bank of the river Nammadā. This imprint was covered by the waves at the time of high water, and uncovered when the water subsided, and it was greatly venerated. The Master left this spot, went to the Saccabandha mountain and said to Saccabandha : " Through thee, the people have entered on the way to perdition ; stay here, make them reject these false notions and establish them in the way to Nirvāna." He, too, asked of the Master something which he might revere. The Master imprinted the mark of his foot on the solid, flat rock as easily as he would have done on a lump of wet clay. Thence, he went back to the Jetavana.

It is in connection with this matter that it is said : " In this very season of Lent (Punna) . . . attained to parinirvāna." ³ (By these words, it must be understood that he reached that state wherein no traces remain of the components of corporeal and

(¹) To wit : a relic.

(²) Lit., shewed.

(³) *Vide* text of the *Saṅḍhyutta-nikāya* already mentioned.

The two sacred foot-prints always were for the people and the kings in the course of long centuries, a great object of veneration, up to the reign of Cackôn Cī Sū Kyo Tan (ဝဏ်တိုင်းစည်သူကျေဝေဝင်). In his time, fervour and piety seem to have greatly diminished ; for, from this reign, the *Shwe-ṣe-taw* (sacred foot-print) was abandoned by degrees, and then completely forgotten, so that in 1590 A.D., no one in Burma seemed to be aware of the existence of the sanctified spot, not even the inhabitants of the Minbu District. This strange neglect is accounted for by the perpetual wars and revolutions of this troubled period. The foot-prints were discovered anew, amid quasi-miraculous circumstances, in the reign of Sālvan Man Tarā, ဝဏ်တိုင်းစည်သူကျေဝေဝင် (1629—1648). On a certain day, the king, hearing the story of Punna, such as it is in the *Punnovādattakathā*, which has been given above, ordered informations to be taken about those foot-prints, but nobody could give any. The place was overgrown with thick vegetation, and no one remembered having even heard of them. The king asked the help of the famous bishop Ton Bhilā (တောင်ဘီလုံ). This bishop is the author of the following works : *Vinayāṅkāratikā saṁ*, on the *Vinaya* ; *Atthasālinī ū gāthā aṭṭha*, a commentary on the first twenty *gāthā* of the *Atthasālinī* ; *Sālvan Man Tarā amē aphyé*, answers to king Sālvan Man Tarā's Questions, and *vessantarā pyḍ*, a metrical version of the *Vessantarajātaka*. He went, accompanied by four other bishops and twelve monks, in search of the famous foot-prints. The king gave them, it is said, a guard of five thousand men to protect them against the Chins (*written* Khyan) and the wild Karens (Karan rōn, ကရင်ရိုင်း). They left Ava in 1638, carried on red palangins, went down the Irrawaddy in boats and landed at Minbu. The four bishops camped under a large tree, and in the evening recited prayers and texts from the *Tipitaka*.

mental individuality). The people paid great honours to the remains of the *thera* during seven days and, having gathered a large quantity of fragrant wood, they cremated him, took his relics and erected a shrine (*cetiya*, *Sanskrit* caitya) over them.

Ton Bhilā recited long passages from the *Patthāna*, one of the *Abhidhammā* books and retired to sleep very late. At three in the morning, he had a dream. A man holding a spear in his hand and followed by a great black dog, approached him and said: "My Lord, the forests into which you are going to venture are very extensive and very wild; they swarm with lions, tigers, panthers and snakes; why do you come here?" The bishop answered: "We are the disciples of Gotama, the Buddha. We learned from the commentary on the *Saṅḍiyyutta-nikāya* that the Buddha came to this region and impressed, at the request of a *Nāga* and of a hermit, two marks on his left foot. These imprints, long adored by the Burmese people, have been, owing to wars and revolutions, forgotten and have at last disappeared; at least nobody knows where they are. We have come to look for them." The man said: "My Lord, follow this black dog wherever he goes." And while he was still speaking, Ton Bhilā awoke, and told his dream to the other bishops. They took their meal early and entered the forest. And, lo! before them appeared the black dog; he conducted them to the banks of the *Man Kyon*, မန့်ကျောင့် (Nammadānadi), and suddenly disappeared. They crossed the torrent and, on the bank they saw a Bhilū (*yakkha*) seated on the trunk of a tree, who asked them whither they were going; and, on hearing their object, he pointed out to them, with a nod of his head, the hill whereon were the foot-prints. All of a sudden, the guardian-spirit of the hill changed himself into a crow, and, alighting on the very spot where was the sacred relic, attracted, by his peculiar cries and cawings, the attention of the bishops. The foot-print on the summit of the hill was soon discovered, and the bishops, the monks and the soldiers were lost in profound adoration. During the following night, Ton Bhilā again recited the *Patthāna*, and the spirits of the hills and woods came around him and listened respectfully. "Who are you!" asked the bishop. A Nat (spirit) who was *sotāpanno* (who had entered the First Path) said: "I am a sotāpan (*sotāpanno*) Nat." "Hast thou known the Buddha?" "Yes," said the Nat. "Is my recitation of the *Patthāna*," asked the bishop rather vainly, "good? Do I pronounce as the Buddha?" "Ahem! One can, with a deal of good will, guess what thou art reciting," answered the spirit. The pious hishop was incensed; but the Nat soon consoled him and told him to make the resolution to become a Buddha in times to come; so did at once Ton Bhilā. He spread his mantle on the foot-print and said: "If it be true that I shall become a Buddha, let the impress of the sacred foot be apparent on my mantle!" It is said that his mantle rose into the air in the form of a heron and, when it came down again, the divine imprint was impressed thereon. The bishop has, since that time, been considered as a *bodhisatta*. They had then to look for the foot-print left on the bank of the stream; that was easy enough, for it sent forth a bright light. A *cetiya* (Burmese *ceti*, ဇေတီ), was erected over each foot-print, which, since that time, attracts every year thousands of pilgrims from all parts of Burma.

